

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-12

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 049547

USSALTTWO FOR AMB WARNKE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: FLOOR STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN SPARKMAN

SENATOR SPARKMAN RELEASED LATE THIS AFTERNOON
AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S LETTER ON THE VERIFIABILITY OF THE
PROPOSED SALT TWO AGREEMENTS AND ALL OF THE UNCLASSIFIED
SECTIONS OF THE ATTACHED INTERAGENCY REPORT, INCLUDING
SECTION DESCRIBING THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT. TEXTS OF LETTER
AND INTERAGENCY REPORT SENT SEPTTEL. IN RELEASING REPORT,
SENATOR SPARKMAN MADE FOLLOWING FLOOR STATEMENT.

QUOTE:

THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS HAS RECEIVED FROM
THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, UPON REQUEST, A REPORT ASSESSING THE
ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO VERIFY ADEQUATELY THE
PROVISIONS OF THE CURRENT PROPOSALS IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS
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LIMITATION TALKS.

THE REPORT WAS ORIGINALLY REQUESTED BY THE COMMITTEE
ON FOREIGN RELATIONS ON NOVEMBER 2 PURSUANT TO A PROVISION
OF THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT, AS AMENDED LAST
YEAR, WHICH REQUIRES THAT THE DIRECTOR OF THE ARMS CONTROL

AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY PROVIDE A REPORT, UPON REQUEST, AS TO THE ADEQUACY OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH EACH PROVISION OF SIGNIFICANT ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS MADE TO OR BY THE UNITED STATES. THE REQUEST WAS REINTERATED FEBRUARY1.

ALTHOUGH MOST OF THE REPORT IS CLASSIFIED, SIGNIFICANT PORTIONS OF THE REPORT WERE PROVIDED IN UNCLASSIFIED FORM.

THE REPORT SETS FORTH PUBLICLY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN DECLASSIFIED FORM THE MAJOR PROVISIONS OF THE SALT PROPOSAL UNDER CURRENT DISCUSSION.

I AM PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO MAKE THESE MATERIALS AVAILABLE TO MY FELLOW SENATORS AND THE PUBLIC. I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED PORTIONS OF THE REPORT, TOGETHER WITH THE COVERING LETTER FROM THE HONORABLE PAUL C. WARNKE, DIRECTOR OF THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY, BE INCLUDED IN THE RECORD FOLLOWING MY REMARKS.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS HAS ENDEAVORED, ON A CONTINUING BASIS, TO KEEP FULLY ABREAST OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS AND TO EXPLORE IN DETAIL WITH APPROPRIATE EXECUTIVE BRANCH UNCLASSIFIED

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OFFICIALS THE FULL SCOPE OF SALT ISSUES. WHILE MUCH OF THE INFORMATION MUST REMAIN CLASSIFIED IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE PRIVACY OF THE DISCUSSIONS AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, I AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE HAVE URGED THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO PLACE AS MUCH INFORMATION ABOUT SALT AS POSSIBLE ON THE PUBLIC RECORD.

I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW MY FELLOW SENATORS' ATTENTION TO A CRITICALLY IMPORTANT JUDGMENT MADE BY MR. WARNKE. HE WRITES:

-- "AS YOU KNOW, THE SALT TWO AGREEMENT IS STILL
-- UNDER ACTIVE NEGOTIATION. IT IS THEREFORE NOT
-- POSSIBLE AT THIS TIME TO MAKE A FINAL ASSESS-
-- MENT OF THE VERIFIABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT THAT
-- MAY EMERGE FROM THESE NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHE-
-- LESS, ON THE BASIS OF AN EXTENSIVE AND CONTINU-
-- ING REVIEW THAT HAS BEEN CONDUCTED BY ALL
-- INVOLVED AGENCIES IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, IT
-- IS MY JUDGMENT THAT THE ANTICIPATED SALT TWO

-- AGREEMENT IS ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE BY EXISTING

-- NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. THIS JUDGMENT IS
-- BASED ON AN ASSESSMENT OF THE VERIFIABILITY OF
-- THE INDIVIDUAL PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT AND
-- OF THE AGREEMENT AS A WHOLE."

MR. WARNKE'S JUDGMENT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE
COORDINATED ASSESSMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. THE
REPORT STATES:

-- "THE ANTICIPATED SALT TWO AGREEMENT IS ADE-
-- QUATELY VERIFIABLE. THIS JUDGMENT IS BASED ON
-- ASSESSMENT OF THE VERIFIABILITY OF THE INDIVI-
-- DUAL PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT AND THE AGREE-
-- MENT AS A WHOLE. ALTHOUGH THE POSSIBILITY OF
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-- SOME UNDETECTED CHEATING IN CERTAIN AREAS
-- EXISTS, SUCH CHEATING WOULD NOT ALTER THE
-- STRATEGIC BALANCE IN VIEW OF US PROGRAMS. ANY
-- CHEATING ON A SCALE LARGE ENOUGH TO ALTER THE
-- STRATEGIC BALANCE WOULD BE DISCOVERED IN TIME
-- TO MAKE AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE. THERE WILL BE
-- AREAS OF UNCERTAINTY, BUT THEY ARE NOT SUCH AS
-- TO PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO PRODUCE A SIGNIFICANT
-- UNANTICIPATED THREAT TO US INTERESTS AND THOSE
-- UNCERTAINTIES CAN, IN ANY EVENT, BE COMPENSATED
-- FOR WITH THE FLEXIBILITY INHERENT IN OUR OWN
-- PROGRAMS."

MR. PRESIDENT, IN MAKING THESE MATERIALS AVAILABLE,
NEITHER I NOR ANY MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE IS PASSING JUDGMENT ON THE ABILITY OF THE
UNITED STATES TO VERIFY THE PROVISIONS OF SALT II. THAT
JUDGMENT CAN ONLY BE REACHED AFTER A FINAL VERSION OF THE
TREATY IS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE AND THE COMMITTEE HAS
HELD COMPREHENSIVE HEARINGS AND CONDUCTED A FULL STUDY
AND ANALYSIS OF VERIFICATION AND OTHER SALT ISSUES.

WITH THAT VERY IMPORTANT CAVEAT, I CONCLUDE THAT
THIS NEW EXECUTIVE BRANCH STUDY MERITS CAREFUL ATTENTION.
IT DEMONSTRATES CLEARLY THE COMPLEX NATURE OF QUESTIONS
WHICH MUST BE FACED IN JUDGING THE ADEQUACY OF VERIFICA-
TION.

WE MUST REALIZE THAT VERIFICATION CAN NEVER BE
ABSOLUTE. NOR CAN THERE BE ANY FIXED, UNYIELDING
STANDARDS FOR ADEQUACY. RISKS MUST BE WEIGHED AGAINST

BENEFITS, AND THE INDIVIDUAL PARTS MUST BE ASSESSED IN
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RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND AS PART OF A WHOLE AGREEMENT.

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